174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always
[173] lived in the region where they are found today,
[171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence
[173] of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Summer of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

252 Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone
412 used in preparing different types plant food. Mortars (pahal) included pit mortars, which were depressions 2-10 in. deep, 3-5 in. wide in level or gently sloping granite outcrops (Kroeber, [773] Handbook, 524, pl. 45). Manufacture of pit mortars attributed to Coyote, but fact recognized that mortar holes enlarged with use until at depth of 10 in. they became unusable.

412 Portable stone mortars (ku·pahal) from 6-35 in.
322 in total diameter; made by pecking out depression
324 in round soft gray stone with harder, pointed rock (SM). Small stone mortars readily transportable; taken on piñon expeditions. Large wooden portable mortars (ku·pahal) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45) made from hard wood, oak (SM), juniper (FP); bowl burnt out and interior smoothed with rough rock. These latter "easier to make than stone mortars" and commonly used around home, but were too large to take on trips. Basketry hopper used. Pestles (poho'owal) for all types mortars were roughly cylindrical, granite or slate rocks, picked up in river beds, used as found; length of pestles varied from 5-20 in., width from 2 1/2-5 in., depending on size of mortar.

412 Grinding slab (mana·l) oval or roughly rec-
324 tangular piece of granite or black slate, from 14-20 in. long, 10-15 in. wide, and 2-4 in. thick; used on one side only; grinding surface flat or slightly concave. Suitable slabs fairly abundant in area, and woman always kept one such in house, leaning up against wall. With slab, either small ovoid rub stone (takibit) 3-4 in. long, about 3 1/2 in. wide, 2 in. thick, flat on top and bottom surfaces (Gifford and Schenck, 92, pl. 31), or larger stone of same shape (takin) used; these picked up in river beds. Long cylindrical mullers not used. When in use, grinding slab set up with flat rock, about 2 in. thick, placed under upper end of slab, so that slab slanted downward, away from operator. Lower end of slab rested on flat basketry tray.

412 All informants familiar with 3-legged metate
177 and horned muller (Steward, 1933, 341, pl. 5g),
252 because one such introduced among them by former Jesus Miranda, Mexican who married Petra Miranda, Tübatulabal woman; this metate used primarily for grinding corn (FP). However, present-day Tübatulabal ordinarily pound parched corn or wheat into meal in pit mortars, following older pattern.

252 Cooking techniques included stone boiling, boiling in clay pots, parching with live coals on basketry tray, parching in fire, roasting on coals, in ashes, in pit ovens, on spits, in fire. General pattern of native cookery, which resulted in economy of effort, was to apply heat only once to any variety of food intended to be eaten in cooked state. Thus small seeds which had already been parched, and previously roasted piñons, after they were ground into meal, were merely mixed with cold water when made up into gruel (u'u·gil); neither seed nor piñon meal recooked by stone boiling (or any other method), parched foods being

Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch
825 1 3/4 mi. NW of Weldon on N side of South Fork of Kern r., said by several informants to have been former abode of wild dogs. According to SM, "the Indians heard the wild dogs bark in the cave, but never saw them"; FP had "heard people talk of the wild dogs down by Miranda's," but knew nothing more about them, nor could PN give additional information.

223 Young golden eaglets (a·šawit) taken from nests in steep cliffs on n. face of Nichols peak (elev. 6078 ft.). Men scaled peak on gentler sloping S side, generally taking with them boy 9, 10 years old. At top of cliffs boy was tied around waist with rope made from native twine, or put in net attached to long rope and lowered over face of cliff to nest, where he got eaglet; if parent birds attacked him he was speedily hauled back up over cliff. Grown men also sometimes lowered over cliffs thus.

231 Eaglets brought home by captors in carrying net and kept in cage (hani·la·nil) about 5 x 5 x
237 5 ft., made of willow poles; cage hung up on branch of tree outside house. Birds fed squirrels, rabbits, other meat through small door made in one side of cage; water provided in small coiled basket (hom'mobit). Wing feathers collected when bird molted; down (pi·wi·l) plucked from breast twice yearly. After being kept year or so "eagles grew so big they bit and clawed and men were afraid to handle them, so they set them free" (SM).

[223] Adult eagles snared at watering places in Greenhorn mts., in same way Owens Valley Paiute snared rabbits and wildcats (Steward, 1933, 254), except that Tübatulabal used willow pole and scattered seeds and acorns inside loop for bait (SM). Adult eagles never kept in captivity; if not killed when caught in snare they were dispatched by owner of snare who addressed no formula to eagle, but clubbed bird to death and then plucked it (SM). Eagles and eaglets "hard to find" (SM), but any man free to get them; eyries not owned. Although eagle prominent in
● [773] mythology, being chief in Mythical age, SM, FM, FP stated unequivocally that eagles were kept only in order to obtain feathers and eagle down
[171] from them; their statements agree with data on use of eagles among Kawaiisu (Kroeber, Handbook, 603). Occasionally an eagle was made pet, but
[794] this was of no esoteric significance and traces of any bird cult (Gifford, 1932 b, 39; Kroeber, Handbook, 495) seem lacking. Kroeber's statement
231 that "condors, crows, hawks, and geese and even young coyotes were kept as pets, and sometimes inherited by the son from the father" (Handbook, 608) brought negatives from SM for all birds mentioned; "they just kept eagles" (SM). However, FM said his sister "had kept a pet crow once," but attached no esoteric significance to fact. That keeping of pets might be significant was not, however, foreign idea to informants, as they recognized that a Yokuts man who formerly lived among them had mystical bond with a rattlesnake,

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM).

[262] Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 ● 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibɪ·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

161 mission, which Tübatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at the mission may have caused early depopulation. Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than 300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Autobiography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; influenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tübatulabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
311 general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r. gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point boundary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could give few place names in it, never having penetrated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt. The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as today, more intimately known and was focus for human activities.

● [773]

423 Whether Tübatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly determined; in all probability did not, as land ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band groups consistently denied by informants. Examples numerous of members of both bands ranging in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing, seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
131 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r. and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts. "When I was a boy I visited them there; we had relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at Poso Flat then" (SM). PN located them at Deer creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Handbook, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suffered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, within the American period or very soon before it, they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat, in the more salubrious region of the foothills, from which they went down to their old home only once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds" (Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area; Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Palagewan, although they often visited Tübatulabal area to gather piñons (SM, PN).

101 Neighbors.- Tübatulabal had as neighbors to S the Kawaiisu (ka·wiš); to W at Poso Flat the Bankalachi (to·lowim); to W and SW various Yokuts groups living at Porterville, Shoko, Altau, and Tejon (monila·bal). At Bakersfield and along slough S to Kern lake lived another Yokuts group (pa·labatal). It is interesting to note that these Yokuts groupings as given by SM do not agree with Kroeber's map of the Yokuts terrain (Handbook, pl. 47), SM's information probably relating to later period than Kroeber's.

Farther SW of Tübatulabal were the Tejon Indians or Kitanemuk (witaŋhatal), the Chumash or Ventureño (cucpinu); NW around Tulare lake the Tachi Yokuts (taši); N the Western Mono (winaŋhatal), including the Northfork Mono (winaŋapul); NE and E the Owens Valley Paiute (i·wi·naŋhal); E the Koso or Panamint (ši·gawiyam). Kroeber gives Amahaba as Tübatulabal name for the Mohave (Handbook, 607), but none of my informants recognized this term.

103 Place names.- Large geographical features, as mt. ranges, not named, but several peaks, lakes, streams, and numerous small springs each had designation. Several Tübatulabal place names refer to mythical events which occurred within area; many other names mark sites which were of economic importance. Since entire area not traversed with informant, my list of place names probably represents only fraction of total. Translations of some of place names given below are those offered by informants and do not represent etymological analysis. Locations are listed from E (Owens lake) to SW (rapids of Kern r.), thence NE to Mt. Whitney. Section, township, and range are taken from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of Kernville quadrangle.

1. pabunta·bop, Owens lake; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Patsiwat for Owens lake: SM, FP said paca'awat name of village site (p. 41).

2. wīŋa·l, Walker pass; general term for summit; piñon grounds.

3. a·nandu·giš, mts. E of Canebrake creek; piñon grounds.

4. u·ga·bičiŋ elegapï·ban, Weasel's lookout; boulders on point of hill, W side of mouth of Chimney canyon, SW quarter, sec. 20, T25S, R36E. In a myth, Weasel kept a lookout here for soldiers approaching from W.

5. holomup, mt. and spring at head of Chimney canyon in piñon grounds.

6. šo·hoptap, creek 1 mi. W of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

7. i·wa'kana·p, 2 mi. N of Chimney meadows in piñon grounds.

8. palu·hi·yam, Little water; South Fork of Kern r.

9. ha·'alap, spring at head of Smith canyon; piñon grounds.

10. poiwištap, Willow place; head of Scodie canyon; piñon grounds.

11. pa·še·pan, spot at which there is a split

[p. 40(a)]

103 boulder at base of mts. (pl. 6d), 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, SW quarter, [773] sec. 20, T26S, R34E. Coyote broke this long boulder in 3 pieces when Bluejay tried to build a bridge from top of mts. across valley to Nichols peak.

12. hamboyam, Cane creek; general term for cane.

13. punʒi·ba·n, meadow containing pit mortar at base of foothills, 1/2 mi. NW of Onyx, SW quarter, sec. 5, T26S, R35E.

14. lelet, Nichols peak. At end of Mythical age Eagle elected to live on this peak (Voegelin, 1935 b, 207).

15. cu·iyala'a ka·ʒa·ban, Spider's pot; rocky ledges on w. edge of first flat SW of Weldon, [773] NE quarter, sec. 22, T26S, R34E. Spider had cooked chia mush; he came here and spread it out on a rock for his children to eat.

16. kutu'wi·ban, spring at head of canyon, first flat SW of Weldon, sec. 23, T26S, R34E. Eagle and his wife lived here.

17. ku·či·a·pu·lap, spring, head of second flat SW of Weldon.

18. wa·tiništ, Juniper place; 3 mi. SW of Weldon in foothills on s. edge of South Fork valley at mouths of 2 intermittently flowing streams; SE quarter, sec. 29, T26S, R34E.

19. Cave, 3 1/2 mi. W of Cook peak on Goat ranch; NW quarter, sec. 6, T27S, R34E. Abode of a mythological man-monster.

20. anayupun, flat, 4 mi. NE of Isabella on Murphy ranch; the E and W winds fought here.

21. paʒat, springs 2 mi. NE of Cook peak, E side of wide plain; SW quarter, sec. 24, T26S, R33E.

22. pi·li·wi·ban, mt. (?) near Isabella; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as Piliwinipan, near Whiskey Flat or Kernville.

23. yaha·waban, junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; "just a name; there was no village there" (SM); Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Yahaua-pan as name for village site here.

24. yu·mu·gi·wala'aŋ pa·i·na·'aban, obscure meaning in reference to mythological creatures; junction point of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.

25. palakuč, fishing site on Kern r., 3 mi. SW of confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern r.; NE quarter, sec. 1, T27S, R32E; near Indian [531] mound, now leveled, on Monroe Bechtel ranch. [532] Pictographs abundant at this site.

26. pi·ta·lap, summit on road from Hot Springs valley to Caliente and Tejon ranch.

27. palakuič, Walker basin.

28. paluntanakamapan, water where it falls; fishing site at rapids near w. end of Kern r. gorge; given in Kroeber, Handbook, 607, as name for Bakersfield.

29. pawačahalap, acorn grounds 3 mi. W of Kernville, in Greenhorn mts.

30. wa·gi·na·pu·ban, Split mt., NW of Kernville; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Wokinapüipan as village site on Kern r.

[p. 40(6)]

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 - String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. [552] Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in [171] hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tübatulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.
487 Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and
437 in later times horses; these exchanged for piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
● 773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·nẓil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hištɬh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hištɬh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·nẓil = 1 cent, hištɬh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hištɬh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hištɬh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hištɬh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

462 Why hunting man's work, preparation of food
773 woman's, rationalized in Coyote myth, recorded in English from MM; shorter variant was given in Tübatulabal by SM (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). This myth, told in answer to query whether women ever hunted, may have wide distribution, but so far no parallels to it have been recorded among Californian or Great Basin tribes, although Dr. A. H. Gayton tells me that she has found mention that sexes were originally separated, in mythology of Navaho, Yana, Miwok, and Assiniboine. The myth is as follows:

462 Myth of Contest to Determine Division of Labor
773
539

Before Indians lived on this earth, there were many different kinds of animals and birds living here; Chicken Hawk, Sparrow Hawk, Mt. Lion, Bear, Coyote, Eagle. Eagle was the chief. And all of these were men; there were no women, it is said.

These men hunted rabbits every day; but Coyote stayed home every time they went hunting, and hauled wood for his companions. He brought wood to each man's camp; that's all Coyote did all the time.

And when the men were tired of hunting rabbits, they hunted deer for a change. The next day, when all of them went to hunt deer, they went farther off than when they hunted rabbits; they went away up in the mts.

Up on the mts. the hunters saw smoke rising from a peak, opposite where they were standing. They said, "Perhaps somebody is living over there; perhaps there are people there." One hunter said, "I think we should tell Coyote about this, when we get home tonight." That's what he said.

In the evening the men returned home; every one of them had a deer. And Coyote had the firewood piled up at each man's camp. Each man cut a little piece of meat and gave the meat to Coyote; every man did this. Coyote ate that meat for his supper. After supper the men told Coyote, "We saw smoke from the top of that mt.; we saw it across on another mt., a long way off." And Coyote said, "Perhaps there is somebody living over there; let's send somebody over there tomorrow, to find out."

So the men chose one man to go, Road Runner (the chaparral cock). They said, "This fellow, Road Runner, can travel fast." Next morning Road Runner started, after breakfast; the rest of the men went off to hunt again. But Coyote stayed home to haul wood for the camps.

Road Runner went way up on the mt.; and as he went he saw a lizard running close beside him. Road Runner got close to Lizard; he grabbed Lizard and swallowed him. Perhaps Lizard was Road Runner's "life" and that was why Road Runner swallowed him.

Over on the mt. where Road Runner was going there were many women-creatures; lots of women, Eagle-Woman, Coyote-Woman, Mt. Lion-Woman, and

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[83]

many others. And all those women were sitting around a big pit mortar bed that had lots of mortar holes in it; lots of women were sitting down there pounding piñons. There were no men, only women there. Suddenly one woman said, "Oh! The edge of my vagina is pulsating." All the women laughed; soon another woman said, "Oh! mine is too." Then one of the women said, "Maybe somebody is coming; perhaps a man is coming." And all the women said, "Perhaps." Then one of those women looked and saw a man coming. She said, "You see; I told you. Somebody is coming, coming from over there now."

Road Runner saw those women sitting down there at the pit mortar, all of them. So he went down there; he said, "Hello."

"Hello," said all the women; and they asked him what he was doing up there in the mountains.

Road Runner said, "My companions saw your smoke yesterday, from across on that mt. And they told me to come here and find out whether people were living here. All of them are men over there," Road Runner said.

"And here there are no men," the women told Road Runner; "here all are women."

Soon all the women got up; they called to Road Runner, "Come on; come on down to our house," they said, and Road Runner went with them. When they arrived at their house they told Road Runner, "Come in."

They selected a cooking basket and they mixed ground chia seeds with water in the basket, until the basket was almost full, and then they gave the chia gruel to Road Runner to eat. Also they gave him a piece of deermeat.

Road Runner drank the chia; he drank it all, and when he was through eating he sat down for awhile. After awhile the chia made him sick; he felt like vomiting, and he vomited; he vomited lizard and the chia. Lizard chased all those women; they got up and ran when he chased them. "What kind of food does this man eat?" they said. Lizard was alive.

Then Road Runner recovered and those women returned after he recovered. Mountain Lion-Woman went into the house and brought out chia seeds, tied up in a little bag. She said to Road Runner, "When you get home give this to Mt. Lion."

Road Runner replied, "All right."

And another woman, Chicken Hawk-Woman, came out of the house with the same thing, a little bag, with acorns in it. She gave the bag to Road Runner. "When you get home you give this to Chicken Hawk," she said. Road Runner said, "All right."

Each of the women gave a little bag of food to Road Runner for each man over there at the camp. Road Runner told each one, "All right." The last woman to come was a big fat woman; she too had a little bag of seeds, and she said to Road Runner, "You give this to Coyote."

Then the women said, "In 3 days we will come over to your camp; 3 days from now we will all

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come over." Road Runner replied, "All right." Then he returned home; he had a large load to pack home.

Over at the hunters' camp Coyote kept watching all the time for Road Runner; Coyote was in a hurry, he wanted to spy Road Runner first. Every little while Coyote went up on a hill and looked to see whether Road Runner was coming. Then in the evening he saw Road Runner returning. Coyote went to meet him; he wanted to learn what Road Runner had discovered over there.

Coyote said to Road Runner, "Did you find out about things over there?" And Road Runner replied, "Oh, you'd better wait; you don't want to be told now; you wait." But Coyote came alongside of Road Runner and whispered,

"Hurry up! You'd better tell me!"

Road Runner said, "Wait until all our companions come home. Then you will find out," he said.

Soon the hunters returned to camp, in the evening. After supper they all gathered together; they were going to learn what Road Runner had discovered, now.

Road Runner said, "There are all women over there where I went; lots of women. Each woman gave me a little bag," he said, "and they told me to give each one of you a bag," Road Runner explained. Then he gave each hunter what a woman had sent by him. He told the hunters, "These women said they were going to come over here in 3 days."

"Good, good, good!" said Coyote.

In 3 days' time the women came. Each woman had a pack; one woman had acorns, one chia, one piñons -- all the different sorts of seeds to eat. And each woman had a bow and arrows; all of them had arrows, all those women. Road Runner went to meet the women; he went to tell each woman where each man's camp was situated. He said, "There's Mt. Lion's house over there; Mt. Lion lives over there." So Mt. Lion-Woman went over to Mt. Lion's house.

"There's Chicken Hawk's house over there; that's Chicken Hawk's house," said Road Runner. Chicken Hawk-Woman went over to Chicken Hawk's house.

Each of the women went to the house of the man who was of her own kind, as Road Runner directed. At last only one woman was left; oh!, a big woman; she came to Road Runner and he said, "There's Coyote's house, way over there." So the big, fat woman went to Coyote's house.

The next day all the men went hunting and all the women went to grind acorns and chia. The hunters returned in the evening; the women had everything cooked and ready for them when the hunters came home for supper.

The following day the women told the men, "We are going to go hunting now; you men go and grind some acorns."

When the women returned in the evening, each one of them had a deer; every one of the women

462 773 539

had a deer. Some of the men had finished their work and had come home before the women returned, but some of the men were still over by the pit mortar, cooking acorns; they didn't know very much about cooking acorns, those men.

At sundown, Coyote had not returned home; he was still up at the pit mortar, leaching acorn meal. Coyote felt aggrieved; he was angry, too. When sundown came and Coyote had not yet come home, Coyote-Woman went over to the pit mortar to help him. Finally Coyote and his wife finished leaching the acorns, and returned home too.

Next day all the men went up on the hills to hunt, and all the women went to the pit mortars to grind acorns and seeds. All the men went to hunt deer and this time Coyote went, too. He didn't haul any more wood; he went hunting. When the men had gotten far up on the mt., Coyote said, "You men wait. We're going to talk about those women." So the men stopped.

"Those women have bows and arrows and they hunt; they send us over to the pit mortars to grind acorns," Coyote said. "That's not right. I think women better handle the mortar and pestle," Coyote said. "That's just right for them; that's a woman's job, not a man's," Coyote said. "Tomorrow we're going to talk it over; we will have a big talk. We are going to shoot at a target. If those women win, then they can handle the arrow. If we win, then we can keep on hunting and handle the arrow, and the women will handle the pestle, all the time."

Everyone said, "All right. We'll do that."

When they returned home in the evening, after supper Coyote called to everyone to gather together; he told all the men and women to assemble, and then he said, "We are going to have a big talk here. Tomorrow we are going to shoot at a target; if you women win then you can handle the arrows, and we men will handle the pestle and grind acorns. But the way it is now, you women going hunting and we men grinding acorns - that's not right. That's women's work," Coyote said. "Tomorrow morning I am going to set up a target; we will shoot at it."

The women said, "All right."

That night Coyote couldn't sleep. At midnight he got up; he went way up on top of the mt. and built a fire. Then he returned home, and when he came back he said, "You people get up now; the morning star is up; get up now, hurry!"

Road Runner got up; he looked and said, "Oh, that's not the morning star over there; that's a fire you built up there on top of the mt., you devil," Road Runner told Coyote.

Coyote called out again, "Hurry up!" But everyone went back to sleep again. When daylight really came everyone got up; after breakfast Coyote set up a target, and then he called out, "Everybody line up to shoot. Get ready!"

One of the women, Mt. Lion-Woman, was a good shot; she was pretty hard to beat shooting.

Each couple lined up in a double column; each

462 woman was standing beside her mate, and each
●773 pair were going to shoot together, both at the
539 same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart, over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a
527 big time" for his induction; "everybody came; they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to all the people; he told them to put their money down to give to people who were sick or poor, and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP). New chief bore part of expenses for this feast; people present also contributed money and food; no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

516 knee up; this commonest sitting position, referred to as mi·išit. (b) When sitting leaning against tree or other back rest, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (c) Sometimes sat Turk fashion, but "not much" (SM).

Women sat (a) right knee bent, right leg and inner side of foot extended backward on ground, with weight of body resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground, knee up. (b) Both legs bent under body, weight of body resting on ground, feet slightly protruding from under left thigh. (c) When sitting against tree, legs extended straight forward, feet crossed. (d) Turk fashion often used when working with materials in lap. (e) When using large portable mortars, women sat with legs extended straight out in front on either side of mortar.

516 482 887 Men, women used cane (nahat), 4-5 ft. long, made of willow or hard wood, "when packing something heavy"; older people used it as aid in walking over rough country; cane kept in house as regular article of use.

201 Direction indicated by turning head, tossing it slightly and pouting lips noticeably; FP did this habitually, SM less markedly. Amused semi-embarrassment or surprise indicated as among [171] Mohave (Kroeber, Handbook, 729); MM, a man, used this gesture frequently, ES, a woman, sometimes; [773] myth refers to its use by Coyote (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Informants gestured frequently while [537] narrating myths, etc.; also to some degree in ordinary conversation. <1

AESTHETICS AND KNOWLEDGE

517 Aesthetics.- Although art forms relatively undeveloped save in province of basketry, TÜbatulabal were not lacking in sense of aesthetic appreciation. In describing water bottles, FP, LT commented on how "pretty" container looked with red earth smeared over outside, ES thought raccoons had "pretty fur" and wondered immediately afterward why "the old timers never used coonskins." FP consented to be tattooed because it would look pretty and her autobiography contains several [823] references to prettiness of certain objects. In commenting on landscape, however, the economic possibilities seemed of paramount importance; MM's reaction to towering wall of Sierras between Independence and Bishop, in Owens Valley Paiute region, was that the mts. were "too bare"; FP's comment about desert to E was that "one couldn't get anything to eat there."

Sketches of design elements for baskets brought forth only one comment from ES, that certain design was "hard to make." However, in another department of basketry aesthetic appreciation was manifested. Although FP stated that piñon jars (see section on Basketry) "were not given away much; they were just made to put piñons inside," and ES agreed with FP about utilitarian purposes these jars were put to, it was my impression that

1/v [The quick placing of the hand over the mouth.-- Analyst]
[p. 57(b)]

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyī

533 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung
● 773 by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were
532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hī'lwal) who
173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM).
[776] Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

532 figures at pa·la·ku·č (fig. 14), at 3 South Fork sites all figures painted in red; at pa·la·ku·č majority of figures in red, but a few in red and black and one, of snake (?), in black, outlined in yellow.

Little or no plastic representation, except for crude dolls children made; no realistic carving. Tule image of deceased person carried at mourning ceremony (see Rituals).

[778]

531 Symbolism apparently entirely lacking; informants could give no explanations for feather wand, woodpecker bands, other paraphernalia carried at mourning ceremonies (see Rituals); one item common among Great Basin, California tribes, that of decorating baby cradles according to sex of child (Kelly, 134; Steward, 1933, 273; Kroeber, Handbook, 536) consistently denied among Tübatulabal. A few basket patterns had descriptive names (ante).

[171]

802 Knowledge.- Decimal system used; count has been recorded (Voegelin, 1935 a, 178). Large numbers of rabbits, fish which were to be divided between several persons had to be portioned out. Sticks, marks in sand not used in division.

805 Year (šuwa·l, world) divided into u·dalami·k, fall, "when the sun is shorter" (SM); tomo·waš, winter; taha·waš, summer, "when the sun goes higher" (SM). Doubtful if solstices observed. Year divided into lunations, months starting on each crescent moon; some lunations named descriptively: ču·u·ga·nan čuwi·la·t, icicles hanging down (January?), which was followed by hu·litap, everything green; ku·la·^{wit}, when grass is ready to bloom; ibi·n wi·^{yal}, time when flowers bloom. Rest of lunations unnamed or informants had forgotten their names; no month names taken from names for fingers.

821 Stars (šu·l) not used at night for guidance;
773 not counted above 3 (Voegelin, 1935 a, 179) because "a long time ago the Indians counted all the stars and they died; that's why they're afraid to count them now" (SM). Milky Way (owi·dinpo'in, dove's fire) caused by doves who "made a fire and the smoke went white" (SM); this part of myth which SM would not tell in summertime. "The Mexicans say the Milky Way is piñole" (SM). Pleiades (a·na·wišt) are 7 women who left husbands and went up in sky. Morning star (yeu'wišn) seemed to have no myth connected with it. SM had heard of star shower, but had no comments to make.

Crescent moon lying on back presages dry weather; upright it is full of water (SM). Rainbow (tanibo·'in) has myth attached to it.

At eclipse of sun (u·muktal) people put powdered tobacco on palm of hand and blew it toward sun, shouting 3 times, "Sun, don't die; come alive," or similar entreaties. If sun should ever die, large snake (wai·i·ni·š) living up in sky would fall to earth (SM).

823 Earth dome-shaped, surrounded by water. Earth-
773 quakes (šuwa·l šidu·gat, world shaking) caused by woman (p. 60).

Directional terms obsolescent; wi·nan, N, pa·lami·k, W, talami·k, E; possibly others.

"people didn't Know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[771] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
773 over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time
ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht.
He said he was going to turn into a plant and if
any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots
[754] and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
something" (SM). Mention has already been made of
belief that witches are not powerful enough to
destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from
addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging
roots, there seems never to have been any form
of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM,
FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called
jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[771] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM
said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
[823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her
sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father ad-
ministered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle,
so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on
the other side of the world could hear him" (see
Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remem-
ber names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have
existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so
far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal
properties and its use in obtaining supernatural
power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had
also spoken to the people, but that no formula
was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[771] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personi-
fied, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture
hero he causes earth to be remade after flood
(Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire
for people, regulates division of labor (ante),
causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid).
He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207)
during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays
usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209,
211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's
character, mentioned how puzzling they found his
dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good,
smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as
well, but differences of opinion expressed on
whether it applied to inanimate objects such as
rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted
rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks,
streams seem not so much supernatural in them-
selves, but to serve as dwelling places for super-
natural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal
lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

774 776 in rocks on Goat ranch, SW of Weldon near village site no. 19 (fig. 11); "if people go in that cave, he might kill them" (FP). A piñon tree which always has ripe cones on it grows beside a lake on top of Caliente mts.; a basket floats on top of the lake all the time; "the Indians are afraid of this; maybe mïgïtih (Blood-Clot Boy; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211) is in that basket" (SM).

774 775 [828] Soul, ghost.- Soul (šu·num; also name for heart) resides in head; leaves body temporarily through ears when person sleeps at night; "when you dream it is your soul that goes out and does the things you dream" (SM). Capture of soul by evil shaman causes insanity. When person dies, his breath (i·kin), which stays in heart during life, goes out, together with soul, and latter becomes breath, but looks like human being, and is referred to as a "devil" or ghost (abawinal). Ghosts travel about by day in dust spouts (popu··lu·it); these latter, unless they strike person, considered harmless, arouse no fear. People also see or hear ghosts at night; such experiences usually frighten person, but sickness does not result, unless ghost has been expressly sent by witch to cause illness; same applies to seeing dead in dreams. Sometimes ghost appears to person in jimsonweed trance, gives person "life" and tells him how to obtain protective amulet; such supernatural guardians "are best of all to have" (SM).

Although FM recalled that one evil shaman had said that when he died he was going to turn into deer, another that he would turn into bear after death, thus showing that transmigration beliefs existed among Tübatulabal, more general belief is that dead stay in land to E, where they live much as they do on earth; on way there they must pass over mt., where large crow picks out their eyes as they pass by (Voegelin, 1935 b, 208).

● 773 [171] Mythology.- Although summer taboo prevented SM from telling several interesting myths with definitely localized settings, to which he made only passing reference, a fairly representative body of mythology was obtained which, as Dr. Gayton has recently shown (Gayton, 1935, 588, 595), is predominantly of a Great Basin character. Animal tales are all-important; cosmographical and cosmological material relatively simple and contains accounts of flood, earth diving, impounded game, death controversy, transformation of first people into animals at end of mythical age, and 2 motives as yet unreported among neighboring tribes, one of Eagle hoarding water and another of division of labor (p. 53). Fairly large number of myths relate to adventures of first people; there is also a long Coyote-trickster cycle, a few hero myths, and a short collection of "true" tales, together with some anecdotal and historical material in collection made by Dr. C. F. Voegelin and myself, which supplements Dr. Voegelin's published textual material (Voegelin, 1935 b).

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
● 773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made. The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and